

The Negro in the South and Elsewhere

ANNUAL ADDRESS TO THE
ALUMNI SOCIETY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

BY

ALEXANDER R. LAWTON, A. B. '77

ATHENS, GEORGIA

JUNE 19, 1923



SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

1923

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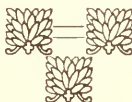
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THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH AND ELSEWHERE

In this day of perplexing world problems I speak of one nearer to us—the relations between the dominating white race and the dominated negro. I bring it to you because it demands the attention of those who should be and are leaders of enlightened public opinion.

Reluctantly, but without hesitation, as one who shares your traditions, your environment, your pride of race and your responsibility, I speak plainly and critically, for I believe that you owe to your State, to the white man and to the black man, your best thought and leadership to the end that this problem may carry with it the minimum of friction, injustice and evil.

Do not be alarmed. I shall not violate the proprieties by even remotely touching on politics; and my own race instinct makes impossible any suggestion which may even in the distant future permit amalgamation. Amalgamation would produce results far worse than any evils attributable to the segregation which we deem necessary. It is for some good reason that God has given us this race instinct. Where it has been lacking, as in Cuba and Porto Rico, the result is gradual creation of a mongrel race unable to keep up in the progress of civilization until taken under the protective wing of a country where race instinct still controls.

I doubt not complete accord of race instinct between us beyond the negro question. Conceding full credit for the part which non-English speaking immigrations have played in the development of America, it is far short of their numerical proportions and the dominating influence

has been and is the stock which founded the colonies, attained independence, created and developed the Constitution. I cannot contemplate with equanimity any amalgamation of this high grade stock with that which I believe to be inferior, accompanied as I fear by gradual departure from the traditions of living and of government which we inherited. My race instinct bids me keep the original stock pure, and the outlook for the future distresses me.

The terms race pride and race instinct do not primarily carry imputation of discreditable characteristics; but, not etymologically but in common speech, the term race prejudice does, and when I use it it will be with the intention of conveying that meaning.

It is useless to discuss responsibility for the existence of the problem. All the original states are responsible for the presence of the negro and we have the problem in larger degree because we were slower in learning that slavery was an economic error, and freely bought of our neighbors the chattels they wished to sell. As authority I cite only Lincoln's second inaugural in which he holds both North and South responsible for this Scriptural "offense" and the "woe" which it brought.

But it is the responsibility of the white race only, and the white race has the higher duty. We are in the ascendancy and no solution or amelioration can progress except on our initiative. While we need the sympathetic co-operation of the negro, we can make some progress without him; he can make none without us. Moreover the white race has always claimed racial superiority. Who makes this claim must never forget that superiority carries proportionate obligation.

In 1920 the negroes in the United States (10,463,131) were but 9.9% of the total population.* In Georgia

* All my figures of population are from The Fourteenth Census, 1920, Vol. III.

(1,206,365) they were 41.7%, and in Mississippi and South Carolina more than half. They are our offset to the foreign-born white population of other sections. In the United States the native white inhabitants of native parentage are but 55.3% of the total population and 61.7% of the white population. In Georgia more than 99% of the whites are native-born and of native parentage. While we have two counties, Towns and Dawson, with 100% native whites born of native parents (probably all of the pure old stock), we have two, Burke and Lee, with over 80% negro, and sixty counties in which the negroes are in the majority.

We can expect neither the disappearance of the negro nor diminution to negligible numbers. Some advocate deportation. Waiving its undesirability, the enormous expenditure required would make it impracticable. And where would we send them, and what would we do to keep them from destruction by starvation and disease? And think of the heartless cruelties of it! The percentage of their increase is diminishing, but they are still increasing. Modern sanitary science is accomplishing much to diminish the death rate, and this good work is progressing in the South. The percentage of increase will probably grow.

Approximately four-fifths of the 10,463,131 negroes in the United States reside in the southern states, and one-fourth of the population of these states are negroes. Race instinct and probably race prejudice seem to be strongest in the English speaking peoples, and substantially all Southern whites are of this British stock. Within the life time of many of us the black man was our slave and was recognized both by statutory and by unofficial law as an inferior. These facts alone sufficiently explain the more conspicuous manifestation of race instinct in the South. You may not justly class race instinct as either sectional or historical. At least by those of British

blood and environment it will manifest itself on reasonable provocation wherever numbers are sufficient to bring frequent contact or economic pressure.

Many non-Southern states have civil rights laws under which segregation or exclusion of the negro is made a criminal offense. He may not lawfully be denied the right of free access to and service in hotels, restaurants, theatres and other places of amusement. You have frequently been to the larger cities, and perhaps the small towns, in other sections. How often have you found yourself in the same hotel, the same restaurant, the same place of amusement as the negro? The statutory law enacts non-discrimination, but what Judge Sibley so aptly called the "unofficial law" enacts otherwise. Almost the only exception is their public schools, where the combination of statutory civil rights law and statutory compulsory education law makes it impossible for the unofficial law to be wholly effective, despite its force as shown in the Illinois school litigation of which I shall speak.

THE CHICAGO REPORT.

I take some facts from the report of the Chicago Race Commission, not only because it represents thorough research, but because its authors have no bias in our favor.

The Chicago race riot of 1919 brought the appointment by the Governor of Illinois of a Commission of six white men and six negroes, all residents of Chicago, to investigate the causes, report the facts and recommend the remedy. Its Report* is a comprehensive volume of approximately seven hundred pages containing much personal testimony, answers to questionnaires by selected representatives of both races, and fifty-nine numbered recommendations. It includes accounts of the race riots in Springfield, Ill., and East St. Louis, Ill.

*The Negro in Chicago. A Study of Race Relations and a Riot pp xxiv and 672. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923.

Springfield was the home of Abraham Lincoln. Its negro population in 1910 was 4.7% of a population of 60,000. The riot of August, 1908, arose from a mob seeking a negro charged (but wrongfully charged) with "the statutory crime." He was spirited away and the mob took its revenge on the race, lynching with brutal accompaniments a highly respectable negro barber and an old negro whom they found sleeping in his own yard, who had for thirty years peaceably lived there with a white wife. They mutilated his dead body. There were no charges against the barber, and miscegenation was apparently the old man's offense. The casualties were: killed six, injured seventy-nine, and many houses burned. This riot can be attributed to nothing but race prejudice, which is at least as strong in Springfield, Illinois, as in the counties in Georgia with 80% negro population.

East St. Louis had 11.1% negroes. Its riots of May 28 and July 2, 1917, had origin in economic pressure arising from labor questions and the employment of negroes in the place of white men, and its sequence in barbarities which can be explained only by race prejudice. Torturing, burning, murder, lynching were rampant. Women and children were not spared. They burned 312 buildings. A large force of militia was called to duty. There were thirty-nine negroes and eight whites *known* to have been killed in the rioting. Many negroes were birds of passage, and estimates of the number of negroes killed ran as high as three hundred.

The Chicago race riot of July 27 to August 2, 1919, started when a negro boy bathing off that section of a lake front beach which was by custom assigned to negroes, either purposely or otherwise swam into the white section. When in deep water he was stoned and he was drowned; whether or not as the direct result of his stoning is uncertain. Much excitement brought unrestricted riot for several days, with armed bands of both races

motoring through the streets and firing into houses and several deliberate individual lynchings. Order was finally restored by the State militia after many days. The casualties include thirty-nine deaths and over five hundred injuries. The indictments were negroes seventeen, whites four; convictions negroes three, whites two.

The drowning incident was but the spark that set off the mine. Chicago's negro population had more than doubled as the result of the migration of negroes, but was only about 4%. Many negroes had taken jobs formerly filled or then desired by white men. There had been great excitement over invasion of white residential districts, and fifty-eight negro houses were bombed. There had been frequent troubles in public recreation grounds, bathing beaches, schools, restaurants and places of entertainment. Of course the rioting was by the worst element of both races. Negroes in Georgia do not riot, and Georgia has no white riots directed against the race. We have disgraceful outrages, but it is the individual (sometimes, alas, his family) that is attacked and not the race. In Georgia also it is the worst element that thus disgraces us.

CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS.

Illinois has a drastic civil rights statute which makes it a crime for any person in any place of public entertainment or service, railways, theatres, restaurants, hotels, drink stands, schools, anywhere, to exclude any person because of race or color. In 1908 the Illinois Supreme Court (*People ex. rel. Bibb v. Mayor etc., of Alton*, 233 Ill. 542; 84 N. E. Rep. 664) gave an illuminating account of resistance to this law, which apparently challenges the prestige of the XVIII Amendment as an example of the futility of efforts to regulate social habits!

The negro plaintiff sought a mandamus against the School Board for admission of his children. There had

been two mistrials and five verdicts for defendant. Reviewing the evidence the Supreme Court held that there was no conflict and that it had been clearly shown that the refusal was because of color, that race prejudice alone had controlled, *and would continue to control*. It exercised its power of disregarding the verdict and itself issued the mandamus notwithstanding the verdict. Meanwhile the plaintiff's children had passed the school age, and the victory was a barren one. This in Illinois, and in a city of 17,000 where the negroes were less than one in fifteen.

The facts reported by the Chicago Commission were gathered by educated, intelligent whites and negroes. Except for one negro member who neither concurred nor dissented, the report was unanimous. Whether the fact that he was in politics was the cause of his non-participation does not appear. While it reports schools with both white and black pupils, and sometimes white and black teachers, particularly in or near negro residential districts, it notes the use for schools where there were many negroes of buildings mostly built long ago (in some instances before the Civil War) and reservation of the better buildings for schools in which there were few or no negroes, and social functions in the schools confined to white pupils, who declined to invite the negroes. It recites repeated meetings of property owners protesting, often with most intemperate speeches, against negro tenants and negro owners; fifty-eight separate cases of bombing negro houses; frequent clashes on street cars; various devices of resistance by restaurants and soda stands; exclusion, not by regulation but by custom, of negroes from public recreation grounds near negro residences; with warnings from managers that while they would be protected within the grounds, they could not guarantee protection just outside. It reports persistent resistance by negroes to segregation anywhere for any

purpose and under any circumstances, though it notes instinctive voluntary separation into racial groups in the parks and other public places. It reports the objection by negroes to the appointment of a negro principal in one of the schools because this would cause substitution of negro teachers for white teachers, consequent withdrawal of white pupils, resulting in segregation! It reports inability of negroes, except by threat of prosecution, to procure seats in places of amusement frequented by whites; prejudicial treatment by the police, particularly during the riot and in pretended search for those guilty of bombing negro residences; in short overwhelming proof that race instinct and race prejudice in Chicago are at least as strong in proportion to contact as in Georgia, and that no criminal statute and no court can anywhere suppress their manifestation in conduct which while *malum prohibitum* is not *malum in se*.

I have little or no criticism of the Chicago report of facts. It is comprehensive and reasonably exhaustive. But I regret that except in casual instances it does not in reporting treatment of negroes by whites distinguish native British stock. It mentions sections where they mingle freely in schools, restaurants and other places. These places other than schools seem to be in the industrial section, for example, the stock yards. Less than one-fourth of the white population of Chicago are native born of native parents, and most of the laborers are of the foreign born. Where the report does mention the race of whites who do not discriminate it shows them to be non-British. It is fair to conclude that it is where the white population is non-British in race and environment that they mingle freely and without trouble.

CHICAGO RECOMMENDATIONS.

I looked with interest to the fifty-nine recommendations of the Commission. They include the following:

1. In future race riots or threat of them use white and negro police and white and negro militia. Imagine the result!

2. Eliminate brothels from negro districts. Most commendable and nothing but justice.

3. Limit the sale of fire arms. This has been many times tried without success.

4. Raze unfit habitations. Commendable, but expensive. The report showed serious shortage of houses.

5. Provide for the negroes as good schools and as competent teachers as for the whites. A just recommendation.

6. On street car lines much frequented by negroes place inspectors (with authority) at transfer points. Very practical.

7. Appoint a permanent Committee on Race Relations which shall continue to study and to recommend. Very practical.

Of the fifty-nine recommendations I find these seven as the only concrete recommendations which would not be included in a single one reading "If you have race instinct, do not allow it to influence your conduct or your thoughts. Thus free mixing and amalgamation will come, and you will abhor segregation, greatest of all evils. You must never be unjust or unfair. Thus shall all difficulties vanish!" Reporting widespread race prejudice, the Commission in its recommendations ignores its existence except in so far as it advises its suppression. The recommendations are impracticable, visionary and impossible—a veritable mountain in labor for a mouse that is truly a ridiculous mouse!

FUNDAMENTAL DATA.

No individual, no commission, no organization, can progress in the improvement of race relations that discards facts for theory and does not recognize these fundamental data:

1. Race instinct, frequently exaggerated by race prejudice, does exist in the white man, is particularly strong in British stock, and will manifest itself on slight provocation wherever the percentage of negroes is not so negligible as to make contact infrequent.

2. It is stimulated by economic pressure such as competition for jobs, or depreciation of values in residential districts.

3. It makes absolutely impossible (at least with British stock) intermarriage, social intercourse, free mingling in recreations, assemblies, places of amusement, hotels, restaurants and, where negroes are numerous, in railway cars, stations and schools. It is even impossible in churches. It is as powerful against fear of scriptural punishment in the life to come as against the fear of statutory punishment in the life of today!

4. It may not make impossible if we all did our duty, but it makes difficult equality of privilege and opportunity for the negro in his struggle for life, liberty and happiness, in which are included the right to better himself and his family.

It is not race pride or race instinct, but race prejudice augmented by want of character that brings to the negro injustice as between man and man. If I yielded to a natural reluctance to admit distasteful truths I could not conceal from you the tendency far too frequent with far too many individuals to deal unfairly in business transactions with the negro because he is helpless. It is manifested in some shop-keepers (particularly those who give

credit) and with some farmers in their dealings with negro tenants. It is to an appreciable degree more difficult for a negro than for a white man to obtain justice in some of our courts, whether on the civil or the criminal side. I do not believe that our judges are subject to this criticism.

It is not race instinct but race prejudice augmented by more reprehensible traits that brings to the negro discourteous rudeness, contemptuous insult and corporal ill treatment. The white man's claim of superiority may be readily refuted by the manner in which he asserts it. Insulting another or wounding his feelings is always to be condemned, but never more so than when it comes from a superior to an inferior. A gentleman should be more careful of the feelings and sensitiveness of one below him than of his equal or his superior. A negro dare not insult a white man. Fear restrains him. A more commendable spirit should restrain the white man from daring to insult or maltreat the negro. Let him "dare do all that may become a man"—remembering that "who dares do more is none."

MIGRATION.

It is not amiss to note the heavy migration of negro labor from the South to the North and West within the past few years, which is now possibly at its maximum. The President of our State College of Agriculture has quite recently estimated that this migration has brought about the recent abandonment of more than 11,000 farms, and that 100,000 negroes have recently left our State. An actual count by the tax authorities of Wilkes County, published on May 28th, shows that within the year 631 heads of negro families have left Wilkes County. Counting their families, this means a migration of approximately 2,500 negroes, and tends to confirm Dr. Soule's estimate.

Many causes have contributed to this migration, including the tempting of the ignorant, either by false rep-

representations or by permitting him to remain in ignorance of what awaits him at the end of his journey. Nevertheless, I believe that if we had sooner inaugurated organized and intelligent study and consideration of the relations between the races and had practiced what was thus found just and wise, there would be no migration. There are some—a minority I think—who favor the departure of the negro. I register my dissent, but I do not discuss it. My theme is not economic advantage but primarily right and justice and secondarily the fair fame of the State we love.

LYNCH LAW.

The Dyer Bill for trial of lynching cases in the Federal courts and punishment under Federal statute has earnest support of many able and conscientious persons, whose chief difference from ourselves is their point of view of the negro problem. Its chance of passage is due solely to the fact that lynchers are allowed to go unpunished. I shall not give you the appalling statistics of lynching. You have often seen them.

Much has been said and written about lynch law and the mob. I can say nothing that is new, nor can I say it as well or as forcefully or as convincingly as it has been said by others. I cannot forbear quoting a distinguished Confederate soldier and judge, the late Hon. Thomas G. Jones of Alabama, and my quotations will show how fully he sympathized with our own point of view. Hear him in 1904 in his charge to the United States Grand Jury in Alabama:

“The instinct of race pride which objects to mingling the blood of the races is implanted in our bosoms by the finger of the Almighty Himself, to preserve the purity of the race. It is a divine gift. It is almost sacrilege to liken it to prejudice. It has nothing in common with the meanness and cowardice which would deny a fellow being those

common and inalienable rights which the Creator gave all men, or oppress or outrage a man because he is humble and helpless, or born of a different race. The two feelings are as different and as far apart as virtue and vice. It is infamous to confound the one with the other. Yet day after day, the passions of the unthinking and ignorant, have been stirred by reckless agitators, who argue that the purity of the white race can be maintained and defended, only by beating down the benign rule that justice should be "administered without respect to persons," and that laws which have "one rule alike for rich and poor, favorite at court and countryman at plow," are not bulwarks of our defense, and that their enforcement is a menace to the integrity of the white race. No wonder then, with the difficulties which naturally surround the subject, that under the influence of these long continued and combined assaults, a volume of race bitterness has been put in motion, which has drowned the law in some communities."

Again "What excuse is there for this condition of things? The white race is superior and wields the power of government. The negro has practically no part in it. The laws are made by white men. White men preside in the courts. White men sit upon the juries. The danger is not that a guilty negro will escape just punishment at the hands of the law, but that in many instances the innocent may meet with unjust punishment. The pretext that the criminal will not receive justice, if the law is allowed to take its course, is wholly wanting."

Again: "Every mob is a stab at the sovereignty of the people, and a malign denial to them by force of arms of the right to the freedom of orderly government. There is not a village in Alabama whose able-bodied men and boys would not fly to arms to repel a band of freebooters who organized in their midst to enforce a demand that the community should have nothing to do with enforcing

its own laws. Yet this is the mob, and what it does. The fire bells would ring out the alarm and the streets of any of our cities would swarm with armed and indignant people if they were told that a gang of intruders were coming to expel their chosen judges from the judgment seats, and put irresponsible and vicious men, chosen by the marauders, in their places. Yet that is the mission of the mob when it arms to storm a jail and put a prisoner to death. If men would only reflect what treason mob law is to their homes and institutions, mobs would be well nigh impossible.

“Aside from this attack on government, the evils of the mob have almost boundless sweep in all the relations of life. Can any man, in the wildest flight of the brain, picture Robert E. Lee or John B. Gordon, no matter what the charge against the criminal, joining a mob to break down a jail, and taking a prisoner out to hang him? Why not? Because they are types of courage and honor, and justice and veneration for law, and all these cry out against such an act. No man who forms a part of the flood of passion and cowardice which storms a jail and murders a defenceless prisoner, is ever again the same moral being. Then and there a human tiger is born. He comes to despise the sanctity of human life. He is swift to the shedding of blood of his neighbors, and sure to give loose rein to his passion when it turns upon one who is weak and helpless. These he will always find. He is an enemy of the youth of the land; for he teaches them it is right to unbridle their worst passions and to trample down those who are set over them.”

Lynching is not a sectional crime. Many of the most brutal have occurred outside of the South, and the reason why most of them have occurred here is the greater seriousness of the racial problems because of the greater contact to which I have referred.

Our people oppose this bill and claim it to be unconstitutional. I have not studied the constitutional question. In the same year in which Judge Jones, permeated with our race instinct and our traditions, delivered his charge to the Grand Jury he held in an able judicial opinion (*Ex Parte Riggins*, 134 Fed. 404) that Congress may legislate directly for the enforcement of the 14th Amendment's guaranties of equal protection of the law and due process of law, and refused to discharge upon *habeas corpus* one indicted in his court for lynching a negro confined in an Alabama jail for trial in the State court. There was not then so strong a tendency as there is today to enlarge grants of power in the Federal Constitution and to limit restrictions upon Congressional functions. Many statutes which would undoubtedly have been declared unconstitutional in the past are sustained today, and you are not justified in being confident that the Dyer bill will not become a law, or that it will be adjudged unconstitutional. The way to oppose its passage and to obviate its enforcement is to arouse an enlightened public opinion which will compel such universal and impartial and fearless administration of the law and protection of the individual as to make Federal intervention clearly unnecessary and inexcusable.

THE NEGRO OF TO-DAY.

Thomas Jefferson is quoted as saying that "a negro could scarcely be found who was capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid." If this was true when he spoke it is not true now. All negroes are not of one class. There is a wide gap between the illiterate negro field hand and the negro men and women of today who are important in the field of scholarship, literature, the learned professions, business, banking, and, conspicuously, oratory. The number of able thinkers among them is by no means negligible. The negro population with whom we deal is not the negro population of

reconstruction days. We cannot apply to them treatment which has its foundation in the natural resentment and cruel humiliation of the political mistakes which then oppressed a conquered people. We did not then study and carefully consider what we should do, and we have to this day laid down no course of conduct based on the best thought that we can command. We should have begun to look it squarely in the face fifty years ago. This is but an additional reason for not neglecting it now.

Do you realize what a hard fate it is to be a negro? Put yourself in his place and imagine that through no fault of yours but merely because your skin is black, you are expected to go through life doing your share as a man, a citizen, for yourself, your family, your community, your State and your Country, with handicaps and restrictions such as these: You are barred from holding any office and may not serve as a juror. You may not be a clerk. You may work as a porter or waiter on a sleeping car, but never as a conductor or a steward. You may work with white men as a skilled laborer but never as a foreman. You may work at trades and vocations but, however well you may work, you have no hope of promotion. You are altogether barred from many trades and crafts. You are barred from the principal labor unions. You may be a locomotive fireman but never an engineer. Whatever your ability to pay, whatever your dress, your habits, your demeanor, you may never use the best facilities provided for public entertainment. These and many other handicaps must be your lot and the lot of your children and your children's children from the cradle to the grave. Imagine yourself so situated. Would you be content to accept it without question? Would you never dream of changing it? Would you cheerfully agree with those who believe that it must ever be?

It would seem that race instinct is so firmly implanted that these handicaps are permanent, and that part of our

problem is this: How may we continue forever and ever to deal justly and fairly and wisely with a large percentage of our population conscious of the grievance that, not through their own act but by the accident of birth and inheritance, they are denied equality of privilege? The answer is not easy.

INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION.

The immediate cause of my more careful consideration of this question is the recent organization of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation in a territory which covers fifteen states, with general headquarters in Atlanta. At the head of the Georgia organization is Rev. M. Ashby Jones, whose name you will accept as a guaranty of earnest purpose and able work on lines which will not clash with our most sacred traditions. There is a local committee in each Georgia county except those in which the number of negroes is negligible. In my county substantially equal numbers of white and negro men and women meet for conference in a spirit of mutual co-operation, freely discussing weak spots in inter-racial relations. Every member realizes and tacitly recognizes unavoidable differences of opinion on certain fundamental questions, the futility of discussing them, the hopelessness of agreement on them. I can unhesitatingly say for the white members that, well knowing that practically no negro endorses their opinions on these fundamental questions, they neither find nor anticipate difficulty in agreement and co-operation in remedying many conditions which all know are wrong. There has been in these meetings no incident which has been either awkward or embarrassing, and we have no reason to anticipate any.

The general, state and local organizations are actively at work doing all that available funds permit. They are investigating lynching and instituting prosecutions. They have secured no convictions, but they have every evidence

of the beneficial effect of even unsuccessful prosecution, and the effects of the Commission to educate public sentiment will naturally in time bring convictions. It has paid the expenses of litigation in several flagrant cases of gross injustice in private contractual relations between white and negro, and will continue this work. It is using the printing press and other means for educational matter.

SOME OBSTACLES.

There are many organizations with the avowed object of improving the status of the negro, which is improving race relations. Most of them are composed of both races and they represent two different schools—one the Booker Washington-Moton school with which our Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation may freely co-operate, and one whose attitude is so extreme and so radical that co-operation is impossible.

The leaders of the opposing school are represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters in New York, which publishes "The Crisis." The President is a leader, if not the leader, of the Boston bar, a high class cultivated courageous Massachusetts gentleman, representative of all that is good in the splendid New England Puritan stock. The editor of the Crisis is a brilliant Massachusetts negro, an A. B., A. M., and Ph. D. of Harvard, a student abroad, and author of several books. If you wish an exhibition of race prejudice, race bitterness, race hatred from the other side, read his book, "Darkwater," and other writings. Among the supporters of this association are many of the best white men and women of the North, who are undoubtedly actuated by no desire in the world except to help their fellow man. In the effort to do this they are extensively circulating a mass of literature, intemperate in matter and in form, capable of no results except irritation, anger and opposition, and advocating complete abolition of even

the slightest distinction in law, official or unofficial, or recognition of the fact that there is any difference between them. They earnestly advocate unrestricted inter-marriage, and are the chief supporters of Federal intervention in lynching cases. The very existence of this Association is an additional reason why we should work along more hopeful lines. Like the Chicago Commission it sets its own impossible theories and hopes above conditions which actually confront us, and makes the mistake of so many overzealous reformers of trying to attain what can never be attained and losing the opportunity to get that which is possible.

The Crisis is only one of the leaders in the negro press whose influence makes co-operation more difficult. Some of the many negro papers published in the United States are conservative and preach goodwill and co-operation, but there are many exceptions. One of the most conspicuous is the Chicago Defender, with a circulation of 185,000, edited by a negro member of the Chicago Race Commission, who is registered as having been born in Georgia. He is a graduate of Hampton Institute, but he has not followed the policies of that excellent institution, of which Robert R. Moton is also a graduate. The Defender is violently abusive of the South and preaches gall and bitterness. It is credited with having been chiefly responsible for the large migration of negroes from the South to Chicago which was the primary cause of the riot. Its proprietor and editor joined in the report, which finds that even in Chicago whites and negroes "will not mix in quantity"; that you cannot "eradicate race instincts"; that in Chicago loans on property owned by negroes are not attractive to investors; that the presence of negroes is at least one cause of the depreciation of property; that there is "deepseated and general prejudice against negroes," and many like expressions which show

that, while he knows that advice and agitation cannot overcome the race instinct, he forgets it when he maps out his course of action.

Another obstacle to racial co-operation is the office seeker who curries favor with the large white majority by pandering to their baser instincts and helping to hold the negro down to the lowest level. Of him I fear we can never be rid. From time immemorial the thirst for office has been a potent influence for evil.

And there is the Ku Klux Klan. It does not announce hostility to the negro as one of its principles. I believe it even denies it. No one is able to test the sincerity or the truth of any of its claims or denials because it has surrounded itself with the cowardly mantle of secrecy. When a communication purports to come from the Ku Klux Klan it is the Klan's own practice that makes it impossible to ascertain the truth. Indications are that it does countenance and practice unjust, unfair and brutal treatment of the helpless negro. The man who is himself honest and sincere is not inclined to give weight to asseverations of men who, if not afraid, are ashamed to come out in the open. Historical precedent cannot justify its present existence. We are no longer in the days of reconstruction when there was no law but force, and we have no place for an invisible government hiding behind a mask and repudiating law and order. If its members be sincere, let them teach respect for constitutional organized government, and practice it. They present a serious obstacle to those who do.

SEGREGATION.

In questionnaires to selected groups of men, white and negro, the whites were asked by the Chicago Commission whether they favored segregation, and the Commission in summarizing their answers reports that they did. These were Chicago men selected by both races. It is signifi-

cant that this question was not asked of the negro group, the only reference to it being a question which assumed as of course that the negro opposed segregation. Here is a serious obstacle to satisfactory treatment. The race instinct of all white men who are near neighbors to the problem unanimously demands reasonable segregation as a *sine qua non*, while the negro with substantial if not complete unanimity opposes, not merely inequalities and hardships which unjust and unfair segregation brings—and in this he is justified—but any and all segregation, minor or major, at any time, at any place, under any circumstances.

The white man is and will continue to be in the ascendancy, and the races can co-operate only on terms which the white man will accept. I hope that having the greater power he will be just and liberal; but he will never regard it as just to risk even slightly the perpetual purity of the white race, and liberality will never induce him to abandon his insistence on segregation—not cruel, unjust, unfair segregation, but that degree and kind of segregation which recognizes race instinct and which race instinct demands.

Negroes, and their radical friends who know the problem only as we know those of the Japanese, the Chinese and the foreign-born, should realize this. When they do, and not until they do, when they accept it as irresistible, we will have made a long step forward, and may look to the future with renewed hope. Until they do, their blindness to stern necessity will continue a stumbling block in the path of the white man who wishes them well but cannot suppress his race instinct.

I have spoken freely, not hesitating to point to our own shortcomings, but trying to avoid criticism which is merely destructive. I have noted the marked progress of the negro in less than two generations. This and his earlier

progress (even with the handicap of slavery) from untutored savagery and paganism indicate capacity for further advance, and give encouragement of success—yes, substantial success if we awake to full realization that we must be up and doing. The task is difficult but not hopeless, and it is our task.

I know that deep down in your hearts you have an affection for the negro. Remember his remarkable record during the Civil War. During those four years of trial there was not even one instance of faithlessness by the slaves left to care for the helpless women and children on the plantation. And John Brown called for them in vain. It is a record of which any race should be proud, and I am sure that you are proud of it for them.

We know that we are in the ascendancy and that his fate is largely in our hands. We know that as compared with ourselves he is helpless and that he deserves not our criticism but our sympathetic interest; not our antagonism but our help and our encouragement. I appeal to each of you for active aid in urging upon your community and your State fair and impartial consideration of this harassing problem; for study of it in the light of today and not exclusively in the light of tradition; for encouragement and participation in the work of the Inter-racial Commission; and for a firm determination as men and women on whom the higher duty rests that no unfair advantage shall be taken of our power, and that the negro shall always receive that justice and fair treatment which is his due, and which we cannot withhold if we wish to retain our self-respect.

